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THE CONGRESS ADDRESSES
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1860-1909

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN

by

NELLIE STRAUS

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EDERATION OF AMERICAN ZIONISTS
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FIRST CONGRESS ADDRESS

Delivered at Basle, August 29th, 1897

FELLOW DELEGATES: AS one of those who called this Congress into being I have been granted the privilege of welcoming you. This I shall do briefly, for if we wish to serve the cause we should economize the valuable moments of the Congress. There is much to be accomplished within the space of three days. We want to lay the cornerstone of the edifice which is one day to house the Jewish nation. The task is so great that we may treat of it in none but the simplest terms. So far as we can now foresee, a summary of the present status of the Jewish question will be submitted within the coming three days. The tremendous bulk of material on hand is being classified by the chairmen of our committees.

We shall hear reports of the Jewish situation in the various countries. You all know, even if only in a vague way, that with few exceptions the situation is not cheering. Were it otherwise we should probably not have convened. The homogeneity of our destiny has suffered a long interruption, although the scattered fragments of the Jewish people have everywhere undergone similar ills. It is only in our days that the marvels of communication have served to bring about mutual understanding and union between isolated groups. And in these times, so progressive in most respects, we know ourselves to be surrounded by the old, old hatred. Anti-Semitism—you know it, alas, too well!—is the up-to-date designation of the movement. The first impression which it made upon the Jews of today was one of astonishment, which gave way to pain and resentment. Perhaps our enemies are quite unaware how deeply they wounded the sensibilities of just those of us who were possibly not the primary objects of their attack. That very part of Jewry which is modern and cultured, which has outgrown the Ghetto and lost the habit of petty trading, was pierced to the heart. We can assert it calmly, without laying ourselves open to the suspicion of wanting to appeal to the sentimental pity of our opponents. We have faced the situation squarely.

From times immemorial the world has been misinformed about us. The sentiment of solidarity with which we have been reproached so frequently and so acrimoniously was in process of disintegration at the period when we were attacked by anti-Semitism. And anti-Semitism served to strengthen it anew. We returned home, as it were. For Zionism is a home-coming to the Jewish fold even before it becomes a home-coming to the Jewish land. We, the children who have returned, find much to redress under the ancestral roof, for some of our brothers have

sunk deep into misery. We are made welcome in the ancient house, for it is universally known that we are not actuated by an arrogant desire to undermine that which should be revered. This will be clearly demonstrated by the Zionist platform.

Zionism has already brought about something remarkable, heretofore regarded as impossible: a close union between the ultra-modern and the ultra-conservative elements of Jewry. The fact that this has come to pass without undignified concessions on the part of either side, without intellectual sacrifices, is further proof, if such proof be necessary, of the national entity of the Jews. A union of this kind is possible only on a national basis.

Doubtless there will be discussions on the subject of an organization the need for which is recognized by all. Organization is an evidence of the reasonableness of a movement. But there is one point which should be clearly and energetically emphasized in order to further the solution of the Jewish question. We Zionists desire not an international league but international discussion.¹ Needless to say this distinction is of the first importance in our eyes. It is this distinction which justifies the convening of our Congress. There will be no question of intrigues, secret interventions, and devious methods in our ranks, but only of unhampered utterances under the constant and complete supervision of public opinion. One of the first results of our movement, even now to be perceived in its larger outlines, will be the transformation of the Jewish question into a question of Zion.

A popular movement of such vast dimensions will necessarily be attacked from many sides. Therefore the Congress will concern itself with the spiritual means to be employed for reviving and fostering the national consciousness of the Jews. Here, too, we must struggle against misconceptions. We have not the least intention of yielding a jot of the culture we have acquired. On the contrary, we are aiming toward a broader culture, such as an increase of knowledge brings with it. As a matter of fact, the Jews have always been more active mentally than physically.

It was because the practical forerunners of Zionism realized this that they inaugurated agricultural work for the Jews. We shall never be able, nor shall we desire, to speak of these attempts at colonization in Palestine and in Argentine otherwise than with genuine gratitude.² But they spoke the first, not the last, word of the Zionist movement. For the Zionist movement must be greater in scope if it is to be at all. A people can be helped only by its own efforts, and if it cannot help itself it is beyond succor. But we Zionists want to rouse the people to self-help. No premature, unwholesome hopes should be awakened in this direction. This is another reason why publicity of procedure, as it is planned by our Congress, is so valuable.

Those who give the matter careful consideration must surely admit that Zionism cannot gain its ends otherwise than through an unreserved understanding with the political units involved. It is generally known that the difficulties of obtaining colonization rights were not created by Zionism in its present form. One wonders what motives actuate the narrators of these fables. The confidence of the government with which we want to negotiate regarding the settlement of Jewish masses on a large scale can be gained by frank language and upright dealing. The advantages which an entire people is able to offer in return for benefits received are so considerable that the negotiations are vested with sufficient importance a priori. It would be an idle beginning to engage in lengthy discussions today regarding the legal form which the agreement will finally assume. But one thing is to be adhered to inviolably: the agreement must be based on rights, and not on toleration. Truly we have had enough experience of toleration and of "protection" which could be revoked at any time.

Consequently the only reasonable course of action which our movement can pursue is to work for publicly legalized guarantees. The results of colonization as it has been carried on hitherto was as satisfactory as its scope permitted. It confirmed the much-disputed fitness of the Jews for agricultural work. It established this proof for all time, as the legal phrase has it. But colonization in its present form is not, and cannot be the solution of the Jewish question. And we must admit unreservedly that it has failed to evoke much sympathy. Why? Because the Jews know how to calculate; in fact, it has been asserted that they calculate too well. Thus if we assume that there are nine million Jews in the world, and that it would be possible to colonize ten thousand Jews in Palestine every year, the Jewish question would require nine hundred years for its solution.³ This would seem to be impracticable.

On the other hand, you know that to count on ten thousand settlers a year under existing circumstances is nothing short of fantastic. The Turkish government would doubtless unearth the old immigration restrictions immediately, and to that we would have little objection.⁴ For if anyone thinks that the Jews can steal into the land of their fathers, he is deceiving either himself or others. Nowhere is the coming of the Jews so promptly noted as in the historic home of the race, for the very reason that it is the historic home. And it would not have been by any means to our interest to go there prematurely. The immigration of Jews signifies an unhoped-for accession of strength for the land which is now so poor; in fact, for the whole Ottoman Empire. Besides his Majesty the Sultan has had excellent experiences with his Jewish subjects, and he has been an indulgent monarch to them

in turn. Thus existing conditions point to a successful issue, provided the whole matter is cleverly and felicitously treated. The financial help which the Jews can give to Turkey is by no means inconsiderable, and would serve to obviate many an internal ill from which the country is now suffering. If the Near East question is partially solved together with the Jewish question, it will surely be of advantage to all civilized peoples. The advent of Jews would bring about an improvement in the situation of the Christians in the Orient.

But it is not solely from this point of view that Zionism may reckon upon the sympathy of the nations. You know that in some lands the Jewish problem has come to mean calamity for the government. If it sides with the Jews, it is confronted by the ire of the masses; if it sides against the Jews, it may call disagreeable economic consequences down upon its head because of the peculiar influence of the Jews upon the business affairs of the world. Examples of the latter may be met with in Russia. But if the government maintains a neutral attitude, the Jews find themselves unprotected by the established regime and rush into the arms of the revolutionaries. Zionism, or self-help for the Jews, points to a way out of these numerous and extraordinary difficulties. Zionism is simply a peacemaker. And it suffers the usual fate of peacemakers, in being forced to fight more than anyone else. But should the accusation that we are not patriotic figure among the more or less sincere arguments directed against our movement, this equivocal objection carries its own condemnation with it. Nowhere can there be a question of an exodus of all the Jews. Those who are able or who wish to be assimilated will remain behind and be absorbed. When once a satisfactory agreement is concluded with the various political units involved and a systematic Jewish migration begins; it will last only so long in each country as that country desires to be rid of its Jews. How will the current be stopped? Simply by the gradual decrease and the final cessation of anti-Semitism. Thus it is that we understand and anticipate the solution of the Jewish problem.

All this has been said time and time again by my friends and by myself. We shall spare no pains to repeat it again and again until we are understood. On this solemn occasion, when Jews have come together from so many lands at the age-long summons of nationality, let our profession of faith be solemnly repeated. Should we not be stirred by a premonition of great events when we remember that at this moment the hopes of thousands upon thousands of our people depend upon our assemblage? In the coming hour the news of our deliberations and decisions will fly to distant lands, over the seven seas. Therefore enlightenment and comfort should go forth from this Congress. Let everyone find out what Zionism really is, Zionism,

which was rumored to be a sort of thousand years' wonder—that it is a moral, lawful, humanitarian movement, directed toward the long-yearned-for goal of our people. It was possible and permissible to ignore the spoken or written utterances of individuals within our ranks. Not so with the actions of the Congress. Thus the Congress, which is henceforth to be ruler of its discussions, must govern as a wise ruler.

Finally, the Congress will provide for its own continuance, so that we may not disperse once more ineffectual and ephemeral. Through this Congress we are creating an agency for the Jewish people, such as it has not possessed heretofore, an agency of which it has stood in urgent need. Our cause is too great to be left to the ambition or the discretion of individuals. It must be elevated to the realm of the impersonal if it is to succeed. And our Congress shall live forever, not only until the redemption from age-long suffering is effected, but afterwards as well. Today we are here in the hospitable limits of this free city—where shall we be next year?

But wherever we shall be, and however distant the accomplishment of our task, let our Congress be earnest and high-minded, a source of welfare to the unhappy, of defiance to none, of honor to all Jewry. Let it be worthy of our past, the renown of which, though remote, is eternal!

SECOND CONGRESS ADDRESS

Delivered at Basle, August 28th, 1898

FELLOW DELEGATES: Zionism has grown a year older since we were first gathered together. To-day we have convened here because we could have found no better place and because a tie of gratitude binds us to this city in which our once homeless movement was enabled to express the wishes and grievances of oppressed men.

The new Jewish movement came before the world as a strange apparition, incomprehensible to many. Some considered it a ghost of former times. Was not the Jewish people dead and forgotten? But we had felt dimly, half consciously as it were, that this was not true. Death is the end of all suffering—whence came it that we suffered? In us the words of the thinker¹ were paraphrased: "I suffer, therefore I am!" And gradually, as wrong succeeded wrong, this realization assumed more definite form, until the national consciousness stood before us in its entirety, not as yet the common property of all, but equipped with a mighty capacity to spread abroad. And in truth it conquered, vanquishing heads and hearts, winning old and young, and the first Congress of the Zionists was a manifestation of our reanimated national consciousness. But there were a number of objections, and weighty ones, against convening this assemblage of citizens of various countries. Would not our enemies proffer the accusation that we desired to form an international league against our Christian fellow-citizens? Would it not have an adverse effect upon our position in one country or another? In refutation we maintained emphatically from the start, and proved by all our actions, that under no circumstances did we desire an international league, but merely international discussion. And let it be repeated here once more for perpetual remembrance: We have nothing to do with intrigues, secret interventions and devious methods, but only with open discussion of our present and future status, conducted under the constant supervision of public opinion.

Our words must have rung true, for the Congress called forth widespread sympathy even from those who were formerly indifferent or antagonistic to the Jews. Every genuine nationality which does not hide behind a strange mask has a fundamental right to respect and toleration on the part of other nations, provided it does not menace their existence. Even though our times are clouded by anti-Semitism, we must not forget that they were preceded by more magnanimous days, when all the civilized nations bestowed equal rights upon us. Their intentions were good, but the results were inadequate.

Who was to blame—we or the others? Perhaps both, or, rather conditions of long standing which were not to be eradicated by laws and ordinances. The laws were kindlier than the usages. We witnessed the reaction, the tremendous welling-up of regret on the part of those nations which had so recently shown us indulgence. From the emancipation which cannot be rescinded and the anti-Semitism the existence of which cannot be denied, we have drawn new and important conclusions. It could not have been the historic import of our emancipation that we cease to be Jews, for we were repulsed whenever we wanted to intermingle with the others. The historic import of our emancipation was rather that we provide a home for our liberated nationality. This we could not have done before. We can do it now if we desire it with all our might.

It is not sufficient that we feel and recognize ourselves to be a nation. Once the national consciousness is awakened the national will must also be aroused. But this point was and still is fraught with many difficulties. In the course of our prolonged sufferings we have been weaned from the habit of consistent volition, and we did not dare to give tongue to aspirations which every other nation not only does not hide but vaunts as its greatest glory. Now that we have finally taken this course we meet the passive resistance of those who are opposed to every change, who remain in the most uncomfortable situation through sheer indolence; in fact, we encounter the enmity of certain, so to speak, official circles of Jewry. The protests of several rabbis were among the most striking of these manifestations. That these gentlemen pray for Zion and at the same time agitate against it, will forever remain a strange phenomenon. This inconsistency may be explained by the fact that they were in the beginning uncertain as to whether their congregations sympathized with the new call of Zion. However, an idea like ours cannot be left to the mercy of those who have heretofore been presidents of Jewish communities or to the opportunistic considerations of their spiritual advisers. Almost everywhere the masses are with us. It is they who constitute as well as support the communities. Consequently their wishes must be carried out. Hitherto we have refrained from emphasizing this inconsistency out of brotherly consideration, but finally it has become necessary to make a change. That there should be agitations in Jewish communities against Zion has become unbearable. The situation is absurd, impossible. We must end it. An election campaign must be begun wherever the heads of the communities are not yet with us. Men with convictions similar to ours, worthy and capable of filling these distinguished positions, must be nominated and elected in the name of the national idea. The prestige of the Jewish community, the means at its disposal, the people whom it supports, must

not be used to oppose the will of our people. Therefore I think I voice the sentiments of you all, fellow delegates, in proposing to make the conquest of the Jewish communities one of our immediate aims.

Moreover, this is the fair and lawful way to make manifest the Zionist proclivities of our people, not only in the annual deliberations which unite us here, but in daily actions as well, wherever Jews are to be found. We must not content ourselves with knowing to what extent the Zionist idea has laid hold of Jewry. The facts must be demonstrated. The ballot is the only suitable, wholly unexceptionable means to this end.

Our efforts have already aroused much valuable sympathy outside the ranks of Jewry, but it is still considered doubtful whether we Zionists are not an isolated little band, whose assurances and intentions are not to be taken seriously. The conquest of the communities will show what our capabilities are.

There are those who find fault with us for desiring and seeking out the sympathy of the non-Jewish world for our efforts. Yes, those self-same individuals, who tell us reproachfully that Zionism erects new barriers between people, cavil because we welcome the friendship of Christian Zionists. But it is not through paltry considerations of expediency that we clasp the hands so amicably held out to us, for they show above all that there is a conciliatory force inherent in Zionism. Thoughts free from hatred flourish in this soil. We hold inviolably to our Jewishness, and nevertheless gain nobly disinterested friends. Is that so bad? They say that we create new differences, and yet we bring people nearer to one another by a negligible effort, without the use of artifices. We show ourselves as we are—we simply tell the truth!

And there is no doubt that we need such friends. We want to accomplish the task which confronts us by our own efforts; but in order to be successful we must be surrounded by sympathy. Why do we merit this sympathy? Because we are solving a problem which weighs upon several countries, the solution of which is impossible without our aid. The Jewish question afflicts many a land. The discussion of the general situation prevailing during the last year will show you that proofs of the necessity for Zionism are sadly numerous.

Far and near, now in the South and now in the North, Jew-hatred springs up. No civilized country lies so far to the West that it has not echoed to this ancient hue and cry; no semi-civilization is so backward that it has not acquired the newest forms and catch-words. Suddenly a mob will rush through the streets and flames will consume the property of the Jews, and sometimes its owners as well.

But that is not the worst. Neither bloodshed nor devastation

nor insults are the worst. These disturbances do grave damage to the souls of our people. Ever and again they undermine our sense of right and of honor, and they cause their victims to become enemies of a social system which permits such things. Let us not be surprised if these proletarians among proletarians, the most despairing of human kind, are to be found in all the extreme revolutionary factions. Let us not be surprised, but let us rather endeavor to bring about an improvement.

It is perhaps to be expected of far-sighted statesmen that they recognize the extent of the danger to society which lies in the unsolved Jewish question. That the Jews constitute a disintegrating element is habitually maintained. One faction and the other stagger blindly from injustice to injustice. But since we wish to form the Jews into a constructive element, we ought logically to have the support of all those who do not desire that the Jews disintegrate everything. We are ready to bring about the constructive period of Jewry. We have everything in abundance—people, materials, plans. We need nothing more than—a site!

Of course the site which is suited to use is of a peculiar nature. No spot on earth has been so coveted as this, and many nations desired it so intensely that the ardor of their longing dried it up. We, however, believe that this desolate corner of the Orient has, like us, not only a past but also a future. On that soil, where so little grows at present, there grew ideas for all mankind. And for that very reason nobody can deny that there is a deathless relation between our people and that land. If there is such a thing as a legitimate claim to a portion of the earth's surface, all peoples who believe in the Bible must recognize the rights of the Jews. As a matter of fact, they may do so without envy or anxiety, for the Jews are not, and will nevermore become, a political power.

What would happen in the event of its seizure by one of the existing powers? That is another question. Palestine is not only the home of the loftiest of ideas and the unhappiest of peoples; but it is also of great importance to all Europe because of its geographical situation. The time cannot be distant when it will be traversed by a cultural and commercial highway to Asia. Asia is the diplomatic problem of the coming decade. Let us recall in all modesty that we Zionists, whom people readily declare to be lacking in practical penetration, foresaw and proclaimed this development of the European contest several years ago. Already the trend of things is apparent. You know how closely every step which any one power takes in this direction is watched by the others. Now that the most modern of princes² of the inhabited globe is about to undertake a journey to the Holy Land, we detect anxiety and, in some cases,

open hostility in the expressions of public opinion in all countries. The land in question cannot and will not ever pass into the possession of any one power, for it is guarded with extreme solicitude. Not only its present owner but all the powers watch over it carefully.

Must it then remain in its present condition to the end of time? This would surely be regrettable for all concerned, for the very reason that a developed Palestine is indispensable from the point of view of both culture and commerce. In the recent war the Ottoman Empire has again demonstrated its indestructible vitality. The Turks have excellent qualities. They are brave, magnanimous, capable of sacrifice; but they do not possess those qualities which are requisite for industrialism and the cultivation of a country. This is a fact. Therefore they would be both strengthened and enriched by the acquisition of a peaceable, enterprising national element endowed with the very qualities which they lack.

Consequently, the task before us, for the accomplishment of which we are continually working, is to create conditions favorable to an adjustment of this nature. We may state that the Turkish government is well aware of the thorough uprightness of our efforts. We neither want to smuggle in settlers nor to engage in any creative work whatsoever without a previous agreement. In fact, we should have no interest at all in helping to strengthen Turkey economically if we were to receive nothing in return. The whole thing is to be done according to the simplest formula in the world: *Do ut des* (I give in order that you may give).

Now the question is, how we shall proceed further. Already at the first Congress we recognized the necessity of creating a financial medium for the purposes of our movement. The Jewish Colonial Trust is to fill this need.³ It is thoroughly characteristic of our Jewish opponents that they insist upon considering us incapable of performing a task of this sort. But we have in our ranks not only artists and philosophers, scholars and journalists, lawyers, physicians and engineers, but also a goodly array of bankers and merchants hailing from all countries. This was the first time a doubt had been expressed as to whether Jews could found a bank, and here again the doubters were mistaken.

The Jewish Colonial Trust will soon come into being, in accordance with our program. To judge by the results of the bank conference, we may assume that the Jewish Colonial Trust will enter upon its business activities in the course of this very year. But I do not want to anticipate the report prepared by experts, which you will hear in good time.

A number of other reports are to be presented to you. You will, I hope, gather from them that this year has not slipped by fruitlessly,

and that we are working toward our goal in patient and hopeful love. Even outside this hall it will be seen that we are not possessed by an extravagant dream, that we desire nothing silly or unjust. What we want is to make it possible for our unfortunate people to live a life of industry, for it is by steady work alone that we hope for their physical and moral rehabilitation. For this reason above all we have undertaken to rally our people around an ideal.

It is impossible that our attitude should displease other nations. This was first proven in this free city, which is extending its hospitality to us. The day before yesterday was St. Jacob's Day. Toward evening the crowds returned from their holiday outing. They reminded one of the beautiful story of "The Squad of the Seven Upright Men" by Gottfried Keller, the delightful Swiss author. There were squads upon squads of upright people who aim to cultivate a valiant spirit in a sound body. They drew past our Congress headquarters. A lady waved her handkerchief to them in greeting. Her action was the signal for a demonstration which we shall certainly never forget. As the squads marched by they saluted our people, and a strange and unexpected shout rose from the street: "Hurrah for the Jews!" Perhaps hot tears welled up in the eyes of many of us. At such moments we lose the self-possession which we have learned to maintain in the face of all sorts of oppression and of the most unjust accusations.

Does this shout of Basle signify the beginning of kindlier times? That we cannot tell. But we can resolve to become worthy of such acclamations. As we were steadfast in the darkest days so let us be thankful and modest if better days should come. And how shall we conjure up those better days, which still lie beyond our field of vision? Will they bring us no more than the possession of land, increased consideration, untroubled rest? No! Those of us who are today prepared to hazard our lives for the cause would regret having raised a finger, if we were able to organize only a new social system and not a more righteous one.

Better days for us, but also for the others in whose behalf we want to set out once more on unbeaten paths as self-sacrificing pioneers. To attain our ends our cultural status need be no more elevated, no more marvelous, than it is at present. But our culture should be utilized for the furtherance of humane ends. And we believe that our people will understand this, because it has passed through so many schools, has lived among so many peoples. If it has suffered among them all, it knows the sufferings of all. We see in a vision of better days an assemblage of men of all cultures, such as this hall contains today—a universal citizenship, not limited to a single language; a permanent attempt to vanquish misery by harmonious co-operation;

and growing out of all this a higher type of civilization. And then our attempts to adapt ourselves, the failure of which brought us together anew, will yet stand us in good stead. Perhaps the efficiency of the Germanic peoples, the versatility of the Latin peoples, the great patience of the Slavs, have not passed over us without leaving an impression. Is our meaning clear? Jewish artists, philosophers and scholars of all lands united in a common work and under a tolerant social system! It is true that we aspire to our ancient land. But what we want in the ancient land is a new blossoming of the Jewish spirit.

THIRD CONGRESS ADDRESS

Delivered at Basle, August 15th, 1899

FELLOW DELEGATES: At this solemn hour, when the delegates of the Jewish people, coming from afar, convene here, let our first word be one of thanks to the free and beautiful city which has once more extended its hospitality to us. Not only those present are grateful, but also their constituents in many remote parts of the world. Basle, the Basle Congress, the Basle Platform, these words have already become familiar to our people, and signify consolation and hope.

We are here for the third time to discuss the grievances and the wishes of a nation which seeks to reawaken to life. It seemed in the beginning, perhaps it still seems to some people, as if little were accomplished by our coming here and delivering speeches, speeches interspersed with sighs. These doubters overlook the fact that even other representative bodies do no more than talk. Who will deny that speeches delivered under such circumstances have a tremendous influence on the present and future destiny of a nation? Knowing this, we have taken pains to create a platform whence our words will be heard; that is to say, a Jewish forum.

As our people is not to return to the life of a former age, but is to awaken to the life of present times, it has had to be provided first of all with a modern medium of this sort, so that it may be enabled to voice its desire for continued existence. Therefore, this forum which we have gained is a precious possession. Let us guard it well! Through the earnestness and calm of our deliberations we can increase the respect shown to our Congress. This respect we should speedily forfeit through want of discretion and through quarrels. Our rostrum will be as lofty as the speeches delivered. There is no material power to lend weight to our words, consequently if they are to have any significance whatsoever it can proceed only from the spiritual power of the idea and from the nobility of the sentiments which we proclaim. Everyone of us must keep this fact in mind constantly if he wishes to speak here for the Jewish people and to the Jewish people.

There is another thing: we are not here to occupy ourselves with the internal affairs of the individual countries of which we happen to be citizens. Any such attempt would only serve to produce a false impression of our Congress. We are here for the sole purpose of taking counsel on the situation of our people and of working out, under the supervision of public opinion, a solution which shall be lawful as well as humane. That we have no other end in

view has been demonstrated by all our previous actions. Thus we ourselves draw incontestable boundaries about our activities. We want to occupy ourselves with the welfare of the Jewish people. That is our right. It is also our duty.

At the time when the peace proposal¹ of His Majesty the Emperor of Russia rejoiced the world, it was to be remarked that this means of getting at international difficulties through a frank exchange of thoughts on the part of those involved has come to satisfy the ethical consciousness of present-day civilization. You will recall that we were assembled here when this noble proposal became known and that the Zionist Congress was the first body that could express its enthusiasm. Now a year has elapsed. The peace idea is on the way to becoming a reality, and that is a great deal, even if it has not yet reached its goal. But this example should serve us as a lesson in patience. If the great ones of this earth content themselves with the slow progress of their loftiest ideas, how satisfied must we poor folks be if we can affirm that things are going forward a little. Thus we should continue with our work cheerfully even if there had been no outward evidence of progress during the past year. Even if nothing had occurred which could be taken to signify a strengthening of our movement or an increase of the esteem it commands and the means at its disposal, we should have had to proceed cheerfully with our task.

But this year was by no means a bad one for our movement. It was a good year. We achieved a number of things; we made distinct progress.

An important event, which was, as usual, partly suppressed and partly advertised in distorted form by our opponents, was the reception accorded to the Zionist delegation in Jerusalem by His Majesty the German Emperor. The very fact that the gifted emperor has given his attention to the national idea would suffice to inspire us with a certain amount of confidence. Insignificant movements are not perceived from such heights. But what took place was more than a mere recognition. It was not as a Jewish deputation nor as members of a "practical" colonization association that they were received, but as a delegation of the Zionist Actions Committee. The principles and the aims of our movement were fully known beforehand, and it was a memorable day for all Jewry when, with this knowledge, the German Emperor assured us of his sympathetic interest. All true Jews ought to be grateful to him in consequence.

Fellow Delegates, you will understand that decorum forbids us to utilize the Jerusalem reception for publicity in view of the circumstances under which it took place, fortunate and significant occur-

rence as it is. We shall therefore refrain from discussing it here in any connection whatsoever. But one point must be brought out in the fulness of our gratitude. As a result of this event nobody will henceforth question the lawfulness and uprightness of our movement, which has been so highly honored.

Naturally we lay great stress on emphasizing and proving the uprightness of our attitude to the Turkish government. We shall take no step which could begin to arouse the just suspicion of the owner of Palestine. We want to and are able to bring great benefits to the Ottoman Empire and consequently we can proceed openly. Those who come in furtively do not intend to bring gifts. This reasoning, as is readily understood, led to the present immigration difficulties in Palestine.² We did not bring them to pass, and it is generally known that they antedate the movement here represented. But although we cannot be accused of having caused the interdiction against immigration, nevertheless we shall clearly state our position in this matter.

What? An attempt was made to introduce an army of settlers into a country without first making a public statement of the scope of the plan? If anyone arrives secretly in the night and the fog he must not be surprised to be accosted by a cry of "Halt! Who goes there?" And so much the worse for him if he cannot give a valid answer! Besides, in such a situation no answer is above suspicion. Therefore we do otherwise. We announce our intentions in the light of day, from which, God be thanked, we need not shrink, and we want to gain permission before undertaking a task which would otherwise be the most unjustifiable of all experiments. For the question is not only to get the people there, but also to keep them there, and that in complete security.

Unfortunately there are many of our brothers who could not be worse off than they are, and who are consequently ready for anything. But in order to do no more than turn a sick man from one side to the other it would be unnecessary to expend so much sagacity, trouble, and money. Let us rather try to cure him. That is so great an aim, so sensible and self evident, that henceforth nobody will seek for hidden motives. Why should we not proclaim it outright? Then all our intentions become comprehensible and suspicion vanishes at once. We are now entering upon negotiations which will sooner or later lead to results if we proceed unitedly and keep our forces together.

For this reason above all we have generated the electric current of our unity and desire to strengthen it more and more. Nobody has a right to divert or draw off part of this current. It would be treason to the whole.

We know that not all Zionists are represented at this Congress.

Our movement is much larger than it would appear here. One important group of excellent Zionists³ of a more conservative trend is not yet in accord with the methods adopted by us. We do not lose hope of converting those brothers to our way of thinking. In theory we are at one. We must combine in seeking the best way of realizing our ideal.

Then there are other Zionists, in fact, those most powerful as regards material means, who would be in perfect sympathy with us had we not chosen to proceed by way of public discussion. They will be with us if once we are successful. Before that we do not need them, and then we shall have their support. There is no longer any doubt on that head.

What will be the nature of this success? Let us say it in one word: A charter! Our efforts are directed toward obtaining a charter from the Turkish Government—a charter under the suzerainty of his Majesty the Sultan. Only then, when we shall be in possession of this charter which must contain the necessary publicly legalized guarantees can we begin practical colonization on a large scale. In return for the granting of this charter we shall bring great benefits to the Turkish Government.

But this could not and cannot be brought to pass through the medium of the Congress, which does not possess the requisite legal power. A special contracting party had to be created in order to conclude this agreement; and that is the Jewish Colonial Trust. If anyone should still raise the question whether the Zionist movement was to be taken seriously—the hundred thousand subscribers to the Jewish Colonial Trust have answered him. The answer came from Siberia, from the frontiers of China, from Southern Argentina, from Canada, and from the Transvaal. Today the Colonial Trust is a fact. Those of us who serve our ideal with ever increasing enthusiasm are not in the habit of vaunting the sacrifices we have made. But now that we are presenting to the Congress this accomplished part of our task we may relieve our hearts and confess that this was the greatest sacrifice which we have hitherto been called upon to bring. People who never had anything to do with business to agitate for the establishment of a bank and to lay themselves open to the most insulting suspicions! It had to be done, and we did it. Today we present our achievement to the Congress, to which we have assured complete jurisdiction over the administration of the Trust, an administration which honorably serves the ends of the Zionist movement. The Congress will administer the institution through representatives, who are to be elected annually. Needless to say the capital stock shall not be used for the acquisition of land. The Trust is only an intermediary. A land company, properly speaking, will be organized on the basis of the charter

which we intend to obtain and with a correspondingly larger capital. However, even to-day we have definitely ascertained that the requisite sum can be secured, and at the proper time we shall announce facts to you which cannot be made known at present.

All this would seem to be in the nature of preparations, of prospective enterprises. But in reality it is as practical and as present a thing as a seed entrusted to the soil. First it was a seed of thought, now it is a seed of projects. Today it is not yet bread it is only the bread of tomorrow. It is true that the oversatiated, whose imagination is weakened by good living, do not yet want to understand us. So much the better are we understood by the poor and wretched. Their imagination is born of poverty. Today and yesterday have taught them how painful hunger will be tomorrow. And hundreds of thousands of our people are thus situated. They are the most reliable of our associates, though they are not able to give us even a small annual contribution. They are the best Zionists, because among them the old national traditions still persist unforgotten, because they have a strong religious sentiment, and because they suffer dire need. Fearful indeed are the reports from many regions. Jewry is a tremendous tenement of misery, with branches all over the world.⁴ This, too, you will hear from our forum, as it is the sad truth. And these conditions cry for a remedy. Deep misery is the cause of disease and moral neglect, and heavy hearts are fertile soil for the most extreme revolutionary thoughts. These are the things we want to change for the better. We believe that salvation is to be found in wholesome work in a beloved land. Work will provide our people with the bread of the morrow and, moreover, with the honor of the morrow, the freedom of the morrow.

Our appeal for assistance is directed to the men of all creeds and of all nations. We need none other than moral support from without. There are numbers of Jews who agree with us in their hearts; but some hesitate to say so for fear of its being held up against them. Those who want to afford us their moral support because they believe in the equitableness of our undertaking should see to it that our movement is not misunderstood in their sphere of activity, for such misunderstandings would only lead to renewed false accusations, such as have so often been directed against us. Otherwise this salutary movement would be intimidated and might possibly come to a standstill. Surely no fair-minded man desires such a consummation.

Here then is a people striving for existence, for honor, and for liberty. It seeks to abandon a suffocating atmosphere and to go forth into the sunshine. Under present conditions the Jews have three roads before them: One is apathetic submission to insult and poverty; another is revolt, outspoken hostility to an unjust social system.

Ours is the third road. We want to mount to a higher grade of civilization, to spread well-being abroad, to build new highways for the intercourse of peoples, and to forge an opening for the coming of social justice. And just as our beloved poet⁵ transformed his sorrows into songs, so upon the loom of our sufferings we shall weave progress for mankind whom we serve.

FOURTH CONGRESS ADDRESS

Delivered at London, August 13th, 1900

FELLOW DELEGATES: The convening of the fourth Zionist Congress in London justifies itself. England is one of the few sanctuaries where Jew hatred has not yet taken root. This incontestable fact in itself reveals the sad plight of the Jewish people at the present time. We must roam the whole of the earth's surface to find a spot where God's ancient people is not cursed and persecuted.

But let us draw no false conclusions from the fact that in glorious England the Jews enjoy complete freedom and full human rights. He were a poor friend of the Jews of this land as well as of those of other lands who advised the persecuted to flee to England. Our English brethren could not enjoy their fortunate situation otherwise than in fear and trembling if it proved an attraction for the despairing ones of our people. An immigration of this sort would constitute a danger not only to those who are living here but to the newcomers as well. For these latter would unwittingly import in their wretched bundles the very thing from which they were fleeing, namely, anti-Semitism.¹ We, however, pitch our tents here for a few days as we propose to treat of the solution of the Jewish question in public discussion.

In the interval between Congresses our opponents take great pains to cover our intentions with an entanglement of untruths, and as a result our first task, whenever we come together, must be to remove this overgrowth with the blow of an axe, as it were, and to lay bare the tree. Thus we have the pleasure of seeing that our tree is healthy and flourishing.

Zionism demands a publicly recognized and legally secured home in Palestine for the Jewish people. This platform, which we drew up three years ago, is unchangeable. It must have responded to a very deep necessity, a very old longing of our people, otherwise its effects would be inexplicable. There is no need of my enumerating these effects at the present day. Everyone knows them, everyone sees and hears them. Four years ago in speaking of a Jewish nation one ran the risk of being thought ridiculous. Today he makes himself ridiculous who denies the existence of a Jewish nation. A glance at this hall, where our people is represented by delegates from all over the world, suffices to prove this.

This fact is of significance not only to us but to others as well. It affords the individual countries an humane and equitable solution of the perplexing Jewish question, and at the same time it opens up new vistas in the Near East.

Our return to the land of our fathers, foretold by Holy Writ, sung by poets, desired with tears by the poor of our people, and derided by pitiable mockers, is an event of the greatest political interest to all the powers concerned in the affairs of Asia.

Permit me to quote a few words from the opening address delivered at the Second Congress. In the year 1898 the following words were spoken in Basle: "Palestine is not only the home of the loftiest ideas and the unhappiest of peoples, but it is also of great importance to Europe because of its geographical situation. The time cannot be distant when it will be traversed by a cultural and commercial highway to Asia. Asia is the diplomatic problem of the coming decade."

These words, dating back to 1898, actually give an impression of triteness to-day, so completely have they been borne out by the events of the last few months. The Asiatic problem grows more serious day by day, and threatens to become a bloody problem for a time. For this reason it is more and more to the interest of the civilized nations and of civilization in general that a cultural station be established on the shortest road to Asia. Palestine is this station, and we Jews are the bearers of culture who are ready to give our property and our lives to bring about its creation. Those who concern themselves with politics will perceive in the twinkling of an eye that a valuable opportunity to draw nearer to Asia is thus presented. No one of the powers would need to look with anxiety upon the cultural station which the impotent Jewish people would speedily erect under the suzerainty of his Majesty the Sultan. The Jews would be benefited, together with the others, and Turkey would reap the greatest advantages of all.

England, mighty England, free England, with its world-embracing outlook, will understand us and our aspirations. With England as a starting point we may be sure that the Zionist idea will soar further and higher than ever before.

Of course, the practical people, the overwise, will come and ask us what is to be gained by all this. We know these people. We remember all the stones they hurled in our path, all the annoyances they wished to cause us, and succeeded in causing us. It is these same people who are never done with asking what we have accomplished, how far we have progressed, when we will finally reach our goal. If they had helped us with all their strength instead of hampering us with all their strength, they could not question us more eagerly. Not one of those who are working in the construction of this edifice, from the greatest to the least, from the architects and their assistants to the humble, loyal, hod-carriers, has questioned us so persistently. We are content with the knowledge that we must work, and we do it cheerfully, courageously and enthusiastically. We build on and on,

and our edifice grows. It is not given to everyone to understand that which is not yet finished. But I am convinced that those Jews who stand aside to-day with a malicious smile and with their hands in their trousers' pockets, will also want to dwell in our beautiful house.

There is, however, a definite question which we have no intention of evading. Have we already obtained a charter, giving us the right of settlement in Palestine? We answer clearly and distinctly: No. It is quite another question whether we still continue to hope, to struggle, to work, in order to obtain it. To this question we answer equally clearly and distinctly: Yes! The likelihood of realizing our demands and proposals grows with our numbers and with the increase of our strength. For the present we have reason to be satisfied with the spirit in which our aspirations were regarded by the mighty ones of the earth. Do not demand more than this intimation from your Actions Committee. In this respect you must have implicit confidence in it. You may freely question it regarding all other matters.

Our activities and the progress we have made can be summed up in a single sentence: We are organizing Jewry for its coming destiny.

But for once we, too, shall ask a question. We shall ask our Jewish opponents what they have done in all these years to relieve the frightful distress of our brothers. Where are the results of their work? What have they achieved? Have they created anything practical? We are continually told of committees, of collections, of institutions. Out with the results! Out with the effects! We should like to admire these people, and to thank them in the name of the poor.

This is no petulant question, but a fearfully serious one. You all know what horrible event provokes it, how the Roumanian Jews made their way through Europe, leaving as it were, a track of blood in their wake.² Where was "official Jewry"? Where were the great ones of Israel, the pillars of the communities? By their fruits shall ye know them! They made much ado about hurrying a few thousand fugitives along, and then declared that they were unable to do anything further. Groups of fugitives who came later were driven together by means of armed force, and were put in special trains to be thrust back to the frontiers which they had succeeded in crossing with frightful hardships. These special trains represented the supreme effort of the charitably inclined. Up to now, among the arguments in favor of Zionism, one of the best was the bankruptcy of assimilation. Now we have a new one: the insolvency of philanthropy. And what an insolvency! For when the wealthy become bankrupt the losses are enormous.

The philanthropic societies insist that they were not prepared for a calamity of this nature. That is their fault. They should have been gracious enough to acquaint themselves with the deliberations of our

Congresses. At the first Basle Congress in 1897 the petitions of fifty thousand Roumanian Jews were submitted. They implored help from the depth of their misery. They could not endure their plight for another hour, and they endured it three years longer. Three years of misery, the horror of which we can begin to grasp only now when we see them on their wanderings. You will hear more of this in the course of our deliberations.

It would seem as if all this, the shameful misery, the impossibility of providing a shelter for the fugitives, the wreck of the relief agencies, ought to convince our most obstinate opponents that the Zionists alone are in possession of the one true panacea. No! Under no circumstances must we be put in the right. On the contrary, we are accused of having instigated these lamentable wanderings of the Jews in order to provide ourselves with propaganda material.

We herewith declare this to be a falsehood. Never, never did we incite or favor so aimless a pilgrimage. We have answered the innumerable inquiries of eager would-be travelers with admonitions to be patient. Foreseeing events as we did, we warned the people who wanted to leave their homes without plans, without a goal, and without money, of the calamity which was bound to overtake them. When, having ignored our dissuasions, these victims of misery started out on their wanderings, we nevertheless helped them as best we could.

Unfortunately we could not do much, as we had made no provision for charitable undertakings. But this disaster, which is probably not the last of its kind, and which is, as a matter of fact, not yet of the past, should be a serious warning to us Zionists as well as to others. We must not content ourselves with using it as evidence that our theories are justified. We must draw practical conclusions therefrom. No longer shall despairing emigrants depend upon the capricious favor of philanthropists. Let it be one of the duties of this Congress to establish financial agencies by means of which our Zionists will in future attempt to guarantee reciprocal aid to one another in cases of necessity. By bringing small sacrifices each individual can increase the strength of the whole, which may perhaps come to his aid some day. Thus we may earn a right to assistance and require no more favors.

Our progress is laborious, yes, and full of affliction. But it will prove our courage and our faithfulness. Let those who crave immediate results withdraw from our ranks. And if the final victory takes its time in coming to us we shall at least be able to point to a moral gain growing out of the material need of our people. We shall have shown that Jewry is still capable of an idealism which defies danger, endures privation, and possesses the infinite patience through which great ends are achieved.

FIFTH CONGRESS ADDRESS

Delivered at Basle, December 26th, 1901

FELLOW DELEGATES: This year we come together for the fifth time, for the fourth time in Basle, where our movement is regarded with a kindness for which we are sincerely grateful. Indeed, it may be said that the hospitality shown by this city to a movement which aims to alleviate misery has but served to increase its long-standing renown.

Already many things that seemed difficult of achievement are completed and have been left behind us, and others are on the way to accomplishment. But let me signalize one fact above all others: we are met together again in faithfulness, and the years have failed to cool our enthusiasm for a noble cause. Death has robbed us of numbers of staunch adherents; physical ills and professional duties have kept away many a one who is nevertheless present in spirit. It was not easy for dwellers in distant parts of the world to travel at this time of the year, but some of them have appeared notwithstanding, and new co-workers, not only Jews, have joined us in gratifying numbers. Without party bias I can safely assert that the helpers who have come to us from the ranks of other creeds and nationalities are of the best and noblest types of mankind.

Allow me to quote from an address delivered by the English author, Hall Caine, at a recent meeting in London: "If I were a Jew I should be mightily proud of the fact—proud to belong to an ancient race which has produced some of the greatest men in history; proud of a nation which still takes an active part in the affairs of the world, although it can call neither throne nor king nor army nor a square inch of the earth's surface its own; proud of a literature which in Holy Writ has soared to a height not attained by other masterpieces of the human spirit; I should be proud of the opportunity of taking part in an effort to transform Palestine from a poverty-stricken desert to a land of rich fertility and prosperity; but I should be proudest of all of the great possibility which now lies before the Jews, namely, to be able to work for the poor and oppressed of their people, in order to realize the tremendous religious hope which has sustained them for three thousand hideous years."

Thus speaks a Christian! But these words, which do him honor, would not be becoming to us. We have a duty to perform. The weak are entitled to the assistance of those who are stronger than they. Our former Congresses have shown what form we think this assistance should take, and it is to be hoped that this Congress too will spread abroad enlightenment as to the lawfulness of our wishes

and the uprightness of our proceedings. It is our opinion that the Jewish question can be solved only by the Jews themselves.

Starting from this basic principle, all the rest follows in logical sequence. That is why we have abandoned previous methods. We have not tried to prove through invective that we were the better people. We have not alluded in vague sermons to the imminent fraternization of all mankind. We no longer want to wear the mask of any other nationality. And finally we are not working for the overthrow of all things. These matters do not concern us. On the contrary, we believe that the means of solving the Jewish question are to be found in the existing order of law and society.

The first attributes to be demanded of people who take upon themselves the solution of a great question are a sufficient measure of earnestness and a calm judgment of given conditions. The conditions are sad, but nothing can be accomplished by lamentations. If we show that we are capable of action we shall not lack the co-operation of honest men. There are many indications of this. The impartial must admit that we are proposing a decisive solution. At the present time the masses of the Jewish proletariat are not only the poorest and unhappiest, but the most unquiet and the most disquieting as well. They are constantly wandering out of one state of wretchedness into another, and how great must their suffering be if they are ready to brave the hopelessness of these wanderings merely in order to seek out a new kind of misery! To render this proletariat steady and industrious were a noble task in itself, apart from any national or religious motive. You know that many have tried their hand at this task which confronts us, animated by good intentions and moreover with great material means at their disposal.¹ But you also know that these attempts came to nothing. Why? Because they all set out from a false premise. They said: "In the beginning is money." No! In the beginning is the idea! Money will secure hirelings, but it will not arouse a people. Only an idea will bring this to pass. And it has brought it to pass.

But in criticizing former efforts we must guard against arrogance. As a matter of fact, our position to the earlier Zionists is simply that of people who make modern improvements on an unserviceable old machine. Doubtless the old machine deserves veneration, but it belongs to a museum. Respect for our forerunners and for those who held views similar to ours would prevent us from dwelling so emphatically on this contrast, were it not that the inadequate results of their efforts are used as arguments against us. Philanthropic colonization is a failure. National colonization will succeed.

Moreover, the question as to what we shall do with the settlers causes us no embarrassment. We want to attach them to the earth,

to make them permanent dwellers on the land. They shall live near the soil and by the soil, not keep an anxious eye upon the fluctuations of prices as impotent tradesmen do. Their concern with barter shall be limited to the disposition of the products which they raise in excess of their needs. Each settlement shall administer its own affairs as an agricultural productive association, in accordance with the principles which experience and science have taught us. We must hold to these principles if by the grace of God we obtain the publicly legalized guarantees mentioned in our platform. Thus the foundation can be laid for the permanent peace which the Jewish people long for so intensely.

What building is to rise upon the broad and steadfast basis of an industrious agricultural population? What sort of modern and habitable edifice? That will depend upon the people itself when once we shall have secured for it the molding of its own destiny. There is room in Palestine for all the forces of Jewry, for the untaught as well as for the highly cultured. No longer will it be necessary to exclude Jewish children from institutions of learning as is done in some places at the present time. And perhaps it is not altogether to the discredit of the Jews that they consider the cultural restrictions imposed upon them as the greatest of present-day afflictions. We shall not even touch upon other forms of oppression, lest our Congress become another Wailing Wall. We must not complain, but we must work, all the more because those who have hitherto represented Jewish interests have shown themselves incapable of accomplishing anything whatsoever. To give alms is not to help. Alms are merely the tie which binds the lazy rich to the lazy poor. But these two categories do not represent the whole of the Jewish people.

In recent years, to be sure, they have devised a new method of so-called assistance, namely, the exportation to the New World of those uprooted from Europe. In other words, they have discovered America. Unfortunately, this discovery was made a little too late. America has no longer any use for poor immigrants, nor has England. Even in America there is already great misery among the Jews. Even in America it is generally acknowledged that the solution which we propose is the correct one. As evidence, we have the increasing number of Zionist societies, extending in a long chain from the north of North America to the south of South America, from Canada to Argentina. It is only in certain Jewish circles in Western Europe that they admit anything rather than the fact that we are right.

Our opponents maintain that we are confronted by insurmountable political obstacles, but that may be said of the smallest obstacle if one has no desire to surmount it. In the course of the last five years, while we observed all signs open-mindedly, we were unable to

perceive that the nations and governments were against us. On the contrary, if the clouds have lifted here and there for the Jews, it is thanks to Zionism. On the other hand, governments and nations should be grateful to Zionism for having come as a liberator and a conciliator to point to a remedy, a remedy through which the Jewish question can be settled without barbarity, without medieval cruelty, but rather in noble peace.

But above all, we must ask what Turkey and its sovereign think of us. Last May I had the honor of being granted a lengthy audience by His Majesty the Sultan Abdul Hamid. The kindness and cordiality of my reception filled me with the highest hopes. I was convinced by the words and the manner of His Majesty that the Jewish people has a friend and benefactor in the ruling Caliph. The Sultan empowered me to declare this officially. Let the Jews of the whole world hear, and let them undersand what prospects this fact holds out to them, and, finally, let them keep themselves in readiness for the proceeding by means of which they can both help themselves and contribute to a renewed blossoming of the Turkish Empire.

Fellow Delegates, we whom you have commissioned to execute your wishes have completed our first task. We were, so to speak, the mechanics who were to install an electric plant. We built the machinery which could transform energy into current, we laid the wires, frequently in places which previously seemed inaccessible, and thus our modest task is accomplished. Survey it to-day!

The main feature of our plant was this Congress, a body representative of those who are dispersed all over the world, a Jewish forum which has gained in respect from year to year, thanks to the earnestness and the honorable intentions of the men whose words were heard here. Even now watchwords go forth from here to the entire Diaspora. In all the lands of Europe, in North and South America, in North and South Africa, as far as Siberia, India, and Australia, we find Zionist societies endorsing the Basle platform. This year, for the first time, there is a simultaneous demonstration everywhere, the World Zionist Day, in which many hundreds of thousands of Jews are participating.

Through our societies an unexpected vitality has surged through Jewry. There are innumerable cases of individual effort which, taken collectively, represent a mighty power. The spiritual and moral benefits of Zionism are already considerable; even our opponents cannot deny it. A Pleiad of poets, artists and scholars have been roused and inspired by our idea. Strangely enough they are not only Jews, as we have seen. That proves that we are proclaiming and striving for something that is common to all mankind. And already rays of light have penetrated to many a dark corner in which the poor of our people dwell. Toynbee Halls,² popular cultural centers, are flour-

ishing in a number of places. In the school and in the home an ideal is present before the eyes of the young. The students in the universities are animated by a new spirit. Workmen and tradesmen meet together for intellectual discussions. Moreover, physical development is cultivated in athletic clubs, sociability in glee clubs. Mutual aid associations are springing up. And all this under the banner of Zionism! But we can do no more than to establish the institutions—the nation itself must support and nourish them.

This is true, above all, of the financial medium of our movement. The Jewish Colonial Trust in London is now ready for business. Our opponents spoke much ill of it in advance. But there were neither founders' profits, shares, nor advantages of any kind for the board of directors, and the administration has no aim but to assure the common property against danger.

Furthermore, we must see to it that this possession of ours is guarded with the greatest conscientiousness, economically and over-cautiously rather than over-daringly. The Congress exercises supervision over the Trust through bodies elected by it; that is what constitutes the value of this arrangement. An account of the administration must be given publicly. The means which are to be devoted to our national aim cannot be utilized for other purposes through the caprice or the mistakes of individuals. This financial institution must be directed according to the rules laid down by the Congress and with the care of a good, scrupulous pater familias. And now that it is in existence we can proceed to the execution of the plan which our late friend, Professor Schapira, of the University of Heidelberg, presented to the First Congress: the creation of a National Fund.³ The money will be deposited in the Jewish Colonial Trust in London. In the course of our deliberations you will be informed of the new proposal and enabled to come to a decision with regard to it. The people shall be not only the founder of this fund, but its permanent administrator as well. This will prevent an arbitrary disposition which might conflict with the founder's purposes.

Thus in a certain sense we can say that we have completed our first task. To a great extent the institutions are merely indicated and admit of improvement, but in any case they are extant. The Jewish people can build them up, strengthen them, and utilize them if it so wishes. We took all manner of pains to give our achievement an impersonal character. That alone makes for permanence. Not one of us is indispensable any longer. Neither the death nor the defection of any one of us would impede the progress of our work.

How soon the machinery which we have prepared will begin to operate we cannot determine. It does not depend upon us here. We were able to establish the plant, but we cannot supply the energy. The energy must be supplied by the whole Jewish people—if it so wills.

SIXTH CONGRESS ADDRESS

Delivered at Basle, August 23rd, 1903

FELLOW DELEGATES: We are assembling for the Sixth Zionist Congress in the good city of Basle, which has earned our gratitude on former occasions. Again we come together in mingled hope and anxiety.

In truth, the situation of the Jews throughout the whole world is no more favorable at present than it was in the years of the earlier Congresses. The statement we issued from this forum in former years regarding the situation of our people holds good at the present moment. Here and there a change has doubtless taken place, but not a change for the better. Many of us thought things could grow no worse; but they did grow worse. Misery has swept over Jewry like a tidal wave. Those who lived in the depths have been submerged. If the inhabitants of higher, more protected spots deny the truth of this shocking fact they are not doing credit either to their insight or to their hearts. Of course merely to admit that the Jews are in a pitiable plight does not do much good. At best it leads to philanthropic endeavors, which, however praiseworthy they may be in individual cases, are to be censured from a higher, more comprehensive point of view, because notwithstanding their oft-proved futility they salve the consciences of those who are conjointly responsible. It is easy to say: "Well, well, we do what we can!" There are some people who pat themselves on the back, if after having read in the morning paper of a brutal Jewish massacre they send a paltry contribution to the newspaper for acknowledgement. But even those who tax themselves in proportion to their fortunes cannot fulfill their duty with money alone. Money does not restore life to the dead, health to the maimed, parents to the orphaned. And how can alms relieve the fear of those who, although they themselves have not been the victims of assault, continue to live in the selfsame circumstances? Their turn may come at any moment.

As a matter of fact we Zionists have recourse to these arguments against our will. It is distasteful to us to turn disasters to political ends and to search for propaganda material in the anguish of the unfortunate. But we must state from this platform how great was our pain and our wrath when we learned of the hideous occurrences of Kishinev,¹ and how overwhelming our grief to think that Jews must live under such conditions. Poor, careworn existences that met their end in martyrdom! We shall cherish their memory and provide for their survivors, and then lose no time in useless demonstrations, but devote our living care to the living.

The bloody days of the Bessarabian city must not cause us to forget that there are yet other Kishinevs, not alone in Russia. Kishinev exists wherever Jews undergo bodily or spiritual tortures, wherever their self-respect is wounded and their possessions are damaged because they are Jews. Let us save those who can still be saved!

It is high time. Whoever does not blind himself to visible signs must perceive that the situation has undergone an ominous change for the worse. We Zionists have predicted this change for years—and now that it has come we are none the less sorrowful.

In the last two decades of the nineteenth century the Jewish committees looked upon emigration as a panacea for all ills. But apart from all considerations such as the suffering of the wanderers, the cruelty of strange conditions into which they came unprepared, the loss to the nation resulting from ever-repeated dispersions, emigration was a feasible expedient only so long as the countries into which the stream was directed did not rebel against the influx of a despairing proletariat.

This is the new period into which we have entered. The countries are beginning to resist although—or rather, *because*, the misery of the Jews in Eastern Europe is increasing. And yet they are countries whose high standard of morality it were folly to question. These states consider it necessary to put a check to their wonted humaneness—I am not speaking ironically—and to treat the Jewish question, which in their case is a question of Jewish immigration, as a matter of politics. It is only among us Jews that some people refuse in fear and trembling to see the political significance of the Jewish question. Their fear should arouse our pity rather than our anger, if once we understand it aright. It is a fear of wide vistas, and it has its source in the narrow “Judengasse.”

Meanwhile things are progressing continuously. In England, hitherto the last refuge unconditionally open to us, a royal commission was appointed² to investigate alien immigration—“alien,” to avoid the use of the word “Jewish.” The recommendations of the report do not admit of a single doubt as to what kind of immigration the commission had in mind. It is evident how hard a struggle free and magnanimous England has waged within itself, how difficult it finds the enactment of a drastic measure against unfortunate creatures, and for what reason it has instituted a special protracted investigation before deciding to act. For there are age-old principles, glorious as banners, which will not emerge untarnished if England no longer affords a sanctuary to innocent unfortunates. And the same may be said of America, which became a great country for the very reason that it was a sanctuary.

As time goes on the governments involved in the question of

Jewish immigration are gaining a fuller understanding of our project. Our solution, which aims to provide a home for the Jewish people, responds so perfectly to a universal need that it is bound to succeed at last. To be sure it is not an easy task. There are difficulties in the way which call for an extraordinary amount of patience and loyalty. But this is part of the education which we gain as we proceed. There are dark days when the things we have toiled to obtain vanish before our eyes; there are auspicious beginnings which later fall to pieces. As long as a movement is young and frail its leaders have reason to fear that reverses of this sort may demoralize their adherents, and their disappointment and weariness are intensified by anxiety about the continuance of the work, the securing of means, the perseverance of their comrades. But even this situation has its redeeming features. Those people drop out whose loss is of no consequence. One withdraws because of wounded vanity, another because he could not serve his own interests in the cause, another because he wanted to be associated only with a successful venture, and yet others for various other reasons. But as to those who remain, their love for the cause grows greater with each sacrifice. They are faithful traveling companions to whom all things can be confided. Thus it was our intention to confide everything to you at the time when we convened this Congress, and thought that we should have nothing to report but the ill-success of negotiations and the failure of long-planned efforts. But matters have taken a somewhat different turn.

Since we assembled here for the fifth time I have again had the honor of being summoned to Constantinople on two occasions by His Majesty the Sultan. On both these occasions, however, in February and in August, 1902, the pourparlers remained without effect. Of course I could not venture upon a course of action which would not have been compatible with our Basle Platform, and a colonization plan calling for scattered, unrelated communities in different parts of the Turkish Empire could not have satisfied our national aspirations. The only thing to be gathered from all these troublesome negotiations was that His Majesty the Sultan continues to be kindly disposed to the Jewish people. This fact is undoubtedly cheering and valuable, but it offers us no practical advantages. Given the kindly sentiments of the ruler and the indisputable benefits to be gained by the Turkish Empire it would appear that the obstacle in our path is to be sought in the attitude of the great powers which are interested in the Near East, especially Russia. That we need not look for resistance on the part of Germany, we know from the German Emperor. In 1898 when, together with the Zionist delegation, I had the honor of being accorded a reception in Jerusalem, His

Majesty assured us of his sympathetic attitude toward the movement. The word of an Emperor must not be twisted or subtilized. Nor was there any reason to apprehend opposition on the part of England, as we can see from events which I shall now relate to you.

After the ill-success of the last negotiations with Constantinople, and as a result of the steadily increasing misery prevailing among the Jews, we found ourselves forced to take another course of action. Therefore last October I entered into communication with several members of the British Cabinet, and made them the proposition that they grant our people a concession on the Sinai Peninsula for colonization purposes. Not only the secretaries, to whom I desire to express my warmest thanks on this occasion, but the higher officials of the British government who are concerned with matters of this kind, received me with the heartiest good will and met me more than half way. I was informed that as the territory in question was under Egyptian dominion it would be necessary to enter into direct negotiations with the Egyptian government. However the English government generously offered to give me its recommendation, and expressed the hope to its representative in Egypt, Lord Cromer, that the project be taken into favorable consideration by him as well as by the Counsellors of His Highness the Khedive. As a preliminary measure the British government gave us permission to send a commission composed of experts to the tract of land in question with a view to examining its fitness for colonization purposes and its possibilities. In order to obtain the consent of the Egyptian authorities to the sending of the commission and their co-operation in our project, our representative, Mr. Greenberg, set out for Egypt at the end of October equipped with letters of recommendation from the English Foreign Office to the Egyptian government.

Lord Cromer and the Egyptian Secretary for Foreign Affairs received him with great affability, and after giving the matter due consideration consented to the sending of the commission. In addition to this they agreed to allow a representative of the Egyptian Survey Department to accompany the commission. Thereupon the commission was organized with the following personnel: Messrs. Kessler, Marmorek, Goldsmid, Stephens, Professor Laurent, Dr. Soskin, Dr. Hillel Joffe, and Mr. Humphreys, the representative of the Egyptian government.

The commission arrived in Egypt toward the end of January, and set out for the Sinai Peninsula in the beginning of February. In the meantime our representative, Mr. Greenberg, left England and went to Egypt once more to submit to Lord Cromer and the Egyptian government plans for a charter covering a tract of land in the Sinai Peninsula. After protracted negotiations our agent received a note

from the Egyptian government wherein it declared itself to be in accord with the basic provisions of the projected charter; namely, Jewish autonomy for the tract of land in question and municipal rights for the whole of the ceded territory, under condition that the report of the commission be favorable, and that it convince the government of the feasibility of colonizing the Peninsula.

In the beginning of March the members of the commission returned to Egypt, and in order to meet them I traveled there myself. I laid various propositions before Lord Cromer and the Egyptian government, but as I was compelled to go back to Europe I entrusted the further negotiations to a member of the commission.

Protracted discussions followed, which, I am sorry to say, resulted in a statement by the Egyptian government to the effect that it could proceed no further in the matter as expert opinion held that it would be impossible to supply the Pelusian plain with a sufficient amount of water, and that consequently it would be impossible to colonize El-Arish or any other part of the Peninsula.

When the officials of the British government with whom I had previously been in touch learned of the expert opinion which had been expressed to the Egyptian government and of the decision which had been necessary in consequence, they immediately made me the proposition of ceding another tract of land for Jewish colonization purposes.

This territory has not the historic, traditional and Zionist significance of the Sinai Peninsula; but I do not doubt that the Congress, acting as the representative of the Jewish people as a whole, will consider this new offer with the warmest gratitude. The proposition relates to an autonomous Jewish settlement in East Africa, with a Jewish administration, Jewish local government and a Jewish official at its head, under the suzerainty, I need not add, of Great Britain. When this proposition was made I did not feel myself justified, considering the plight of Jewry and the immediate necessity of ameliorating this plight, in taking any steps other than obtaining permission to submit the proposition to the Congress. However, in order that the matter might be of sufficiently definite interest to all of us it was necessary to formulate the proposition in such a way that it would take into consideration the national aspirations so dear to us all. Consequently our representative had a number of conferences with the members of the British Cabinet and with the chiefs of Departments, in which the matter was thoroughly gone into. These conferences were of a satisfactory nature.

I do not want to anticipate the views which the Congress will express on the policy to be pursued with regard to the proposition. It goes without saying that the Jewish people can have no other

goal than Palestine and that, whatever the fate of the proposition may be, our attitude toward the land of our fathers is and shall remain unchangeable. Nevertheless, the Congress will perceive that our movement has been tremendously advanced as the result of our negotiations with the British government. I may say that our attitude towards Palestine was candidly and fully explained to the members of the British Cabinet and to the high government officials who had this matter in hand. I believe that the Congress will be able to find means to make use of this offer. The spirit in which the offer was made must of necessity contribute to improving and alleviating the situation of the Jewish people, without our renouncing one iota of the great principles upon which our movement is based.

It would not seem practicable to lay the details of the proposition, to which I should particularly like to draw your close attention, before the Congress as a whole. It would seem wiser to suggest that you elect a small committee to take the whole matter in hand.³ Whatever decision will be reached I may state confidently that we all harbor the deepest gratitude in our hearts for the gracious and statesmanlike attitude maintained by Great Britain throughout the course of its pourparlers with the Jewish people.

Zion it is not and can never be. It is merely an expedient for colonization purposes, but, be it well understood, an expedient founded upon a national and political basis. We shall not and cannot give the Jewish masses the marching signal on the strength of this arrangement. It is and must remain an emergency measure destined to allay the perplexity prevailing in philanthropic undertakings at the present time and to prevent our losing touch with the scattered fragments of our people.

This was the situation up to a few days ago, when it developed in such a way as to promise results of the utmost importance. Events which are universally known⁴ made it necessary for me to undertake a journey to Russia in the interests of the Jewish people. I had the welcome opportunity of coming in touch with the Russian government, and I may say that I met with a fair understanding of our Zionist aspirations and heard expressions of a benevolent desire to be of real assistance to us. As a matter of fact I admit that on this occasion I was not only a Zionist—you will not blame me, I know. I spoke not only in behalf of the Zionists but for all the Jews in Russia. I took pains to recommend a number of improvements in their sad situation, and received the assurance that these alleviatory measures would be taken into consideration in the immediate future. But more important were the assurances I received concerning the Zionist movement. I am in a position to state that the Russian government will not impede the progress of the Zionist movement, pro-

vided it retains the quiet and lawful character which has hitherto distinguished it. Moreover the Russian government is ready to cooperate with the Zionists in an emigration undertaking on condition that the expenses it incurs are covered.

Finally, and this is the most important fact of all, the Russian government is willing to use its influence with His Majesty the Sultan in furthering our efforts to obtain Palestine. The importance of this statement, which I am empowered to make to the Zionist Congress, is surely evident to you all. A promise of this nature from the Russian government signifies a diplomatic asset the value of which cannot be overestimated. Not only is a tremendous obstacle removed, but suddenly powerful aid is at hand. Its effects are yet to be seen; but we may continue to strive for Erez Israel with renewed courage and with brighter prospects than ever before.

Of course some people will perceive none but the gloomy aspects of these developments. The help of the powers, they will say, signifies nothing good. Either they want to be rid of us or they want to deny us admission. So be it! If it portends injustice toward our people we shall reply to it in the future. In our future, in our country! And our answer shall consist in the advancement of human civilization.

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INTRODUCTION

The collected addresses of Dr. Theodor Herzl are presented to readers of English for the first time. In these historic utterances will be found not only a presentation of Zionism as a solution of the Jewish problem, but much more than that, the lineaments of a beloved personality who aroused the Jewish world.

Theodor Herzl was born in Austria in 1860. He studied law at Vienna, but turned to journalism and literature, in which profession he soon reached the front rank. A man of engaging appearance and great personal magnetism, he attracted to himself a distinguished circle of friends among whom he moved in Paris for a number of years, until, coming in contact with the virulent anti-Semitism that broke out in the lands of emancipation, he cast in his lot with his own people, and in his book *The Jewish State* published in 1896, set forth his conviction that a permanent and satisfactory solution of the Jewish problem is to be found only in the establishment of a homeland for the Jews. The first Congress was convened in the following year, for the explicit purpose of lifting the Jewish problem out of the darkness of the ghetto, and bringing it into the open light of international discussion. Delegates assembled from all parts of the world, and included notables in commerce, science and art. The Jewish question was placed on a lofty plane by the formulation of the historic "Basle Program," declaring that "the aims of Zionism are to obtain a publicly recognized and legally secured homeland for the Jewish people in Palestine." Seven years later, Herzl was laid in his grave. He was stricken while still in the prime years of his life. His personal fortune was spent and his worldly career sacrificed. He died a martyr to the revolution which he sought to effect in the life of the Jewish people.

Since that time ten further Congresses have been left behind. Today Zionist members and societies are legion. More than twenty Federations founded in different lands form a chain extending around the globe. To record the current development of the blossoming idea, a hundred Zionist periodicals appear in various tongues. Hebrew lives again on the lips of thousands of school children and students in Palestine. The Jewish National Fund has attained the monumental sum of over a million dollars, built up mainly from the pennies of the poor. Forty-eight agricultural colonies have been established in Palestine, and the annual trade of Jaffa grew from two million dollars in 1886 to ten millions in 1912. Direction is given to the financial flux of Jewish national affairs by two banks with seven subsidiary branches. But far outdoing in importance these practical

achievements, are the significant changes that Zionism has effected in the attitude of the Jewish people towards modern life and present-day problems, changes that have resulted in a stiffening of character to meet the dangers from without, and the decay that is threatening from within.

In twenty years, but a moment of our corporate life, not only has Zionism grown in material accomplishment and in spiritual influence but it has also developed in its fundamental motives and principles. Yet the important state papers presented here, addressed not merely to the Zionist delegates and to the rulers of the gentile world, but also to the Jews of all time, still express the essential thoughts and breathe the true spirit of Zionism today, and he who would know the aspirations of Zionism must drink deep at the clear source. Not only will he then understand why the Zionist Movement is the greatest of the dispersion, but he will also come under the spell of a soul that seems yet to live, and is to grace our history for all time. For today when the great powers are manifesting a significant interest in Zionism, an interest that cannot but find some concrete expression depending in character on the attitude of the Jews themselves, the insight of Dr. Herzl into the international difficulties of our own time is manifest, and events are tending to an imminent realization of his statesmanlike solution of the Jewish problem.

SAUL J. COHEN



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NOTES

FIRST CONGRESS ADDRESS

(pp. 5-9)

1. Herzl refers to the old anti-Semitic accusation that the Jews are banded together in an international league for purposes disloyal to their respective governments.

2. Agricultural colonization in Palestine began in 1882. So severe were the difficulties encountered, and the hardships endured by the pioneers, that the undertaking would have broken down but for the munificence of Baron Edmond de Rothschild.

3. Herzl's plan was to secure by diplomatic negotiation a charter giving colonization rights with local self-government. He looked forward with optimism to the colonization of Palestine on a national scale (see Third Congress Address, p. 20). But he clearly states later that a complete solution of the Jewish problem does not imply that all Jews must go to Palestine. He wishes to emphasize here the futility of colonization on a small scale, as against the larger plans he had in mind.

4. Dr. Herzl viewed with disfavor the petty colonization of Palestine as a complete solution of the Jewish problem. But he recognized that practical achievements in Palestine were of political value, and served at once as demonstration and proof of Zionist theory. See his remarks in the preceding paragraph of this address.

SECOND CONGRESS ADDRESS

(pp. 10-16)

1. Descartes, 1596-1650: "I think; therefore I am."

2. The Emperor of Germany.

3. The Jewish Colonial Trust was established March 20, 1899; the Paid-up Capital amounted to \$1,300,000 in 1914.

THIRD CONGRESS ADDRESS

(pp. 17-22)

1. The proposals of Emperor Nicholas II of Russia, which led to the establishment in 1899 of the International Court of Arbitration or Hague Tribunal.

2. In 1888, legislation directed against the colonization activities of the Chovevi Zion, prohibited any mass-immigration into Palestine. No Jewish immigrant was admitted into the land without a red pass, and this permitted him to remain for a period of only three months.

3. Some of the Chovevi Zion, whose efforts were largely responsible for the early colonization of Palestine.

4. Contrary to general belief, the Jewish masses are the poorest in the world. See Fifth Congress Address, p. 28. See also, Israel Cohen, *Jewish Life in Modern Times*, Bk. 4, Ch. 2.

5. Possibly Heine.

FOURTH CONGRESS ADDRESS

(pp. 23-26)

1. See Note 2, Sixth Congress Address.

2. In the year 1900, the mass emigration from Roumania became a growing menace. Unable to endure longer the privations and hunger that resulted from legislation by Roumania in violation of the Berlin Treaty, a great wave of destitute Jews crossed the frontier. The correspondent of the London *Jewish Chronicle* reported (July 6, 1900, p. 14), that had it not been for the presence of the Zionist Bureau it would simply have been impossible to evolve order out of the confusion, and he referred to the bankruptcy of philanthropy in dealing with national problems of this kind.

achievements. are the sixth CONGRESS ADDRESS
(pp. 27-31)

1. Baron Edmond de Rothschild gave of his millions unsparingly for the early philanthropic settlements in Palestine, but they did not become self-supporting until a much later date. Some of this money has been repaid by the new Yishub. It may be added that Baron de Hirsch also donated over fifty million dollars to found agricultural colonies in Argentina and other free countries, with discouraging results.
2. The popular institute in the East-end of London, the home of the intellectual Jewish youth of the great metropolis.
3. The Jewish National Fund was founded in 1901. It amounted in 1917 to over a million dollars, about 75 per cent of which is invested in land and improvements in Palestine.

SIXTH CONGRESS ADDRESS
(pp. 32-38)

1. Forty-seven Jews were killed, and hundreds seriously injured or permanently maimed, in the unspeakable horrors of April 19th and 20, 1903, at Kishinev. The property damage amounted to three million rubles. It was alleged that the Jews had murdered a Christian child in order to use its blood for the Passover ritual. The massacre was largely effected by imported hirelings, with the open connivance of the government. From 1903 to 1906 *Pogroms* occurred in 284 towns in Russia.

2. The Royal Commission on Alien Immigration began its protracted investigations on April 24, 1902, and presented its report to the House of Commons on August 11, 1903. The report was not unfavorable. Nevertheless drastic recommendations were made against the influx of Jews and were embodied in a bill which was passed, August 11, 1905. Lord Rothschild, who was a member of the commission, protested that the exclusion of so-called "undesirables" would actually work hardship to honest and industrious refugees. But the widespread agitation in favor of "England for the English" as against the foreigners who were "taking the bread out of the mouths of the working-classes" was too strong, and in the face of considerable protest, the provisions of the bill were put into force.

3. At the Sixth Congress a commission was appointed to investigate the proposed settlement in East Africa, but the sentiment of the majority of the Congress seems to have been opposed to the project. The report of the commission was unfavorable. At the Seventh Congress, held in 1905, a large majority declared against "activity (in colonization) outside Palestine and its adjacent lands." The elements seceded from the Congress, founded the Ito (Jewish Territorial Organization), and with Israel Zangwill at the head, began unsuccessful negotiations for any suitable territory on which to found an autonomous settlement of Jews.

4. Kishinev. See note 1 above.

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